Leipart called the roll of the union presidents. Their response was unanimous: "We have no choice."

Leipart concluded, "I shall reply to the Ministry that the federation will take part in the parade."

I felt no bitterness toward my colleagues, but their decision had drawn a line between them and me. I asked to speak on a personal matter. "The co-ordination of the unions," I said, "implies that they have become a part of the Nazi state, but I cannot take an oath of allegiance to this state. So I must resign. This is by no means a protest against your decision. I will always remember with pride the years I have worked with you."

Leipart said gently, "We are deeply indebted to you. If you remained with us, we would do all in our power to shield you. But what good would that do? An additional liability to us and no help to you. You have made the right decision. But we have no choice."

I shook hands with him and other members of the board and left the conference room.

On May 1, the board of the ADGB marched in the Nazi parade like a group of captives dragged behind the chariot of the conqueror, exposed to insults and derision from the crowds on the sidewalks. When this ordeal was over, Göring sprang the trap. A commando of Brown Shirts broke into the ADGB building and arrested all the board members and senior officers of the organization. Until the van came to take them to jail, they were forced to run up and down the stairs of the six-story building and kneel before Nazi banners.

Later one of my colleagues in the ADGB wrote me: "You were right in advising us that the surrender would not save the unions. We had the choice. . . ."

ON THE ROAD

After the burning of the Reichstag we felt we were no longer safe in Germany. Of course, no person with democratic convictions could feel safe amidst this orgy of violence, but my position was worse than that of my German colleagues. I was a foreigner, a Russian Jew active in the German labor movement. However, I could not desert the ADGB so long as the organization contained a spark of resistance to the Nazis. Its decision to participate in the May Day parade changed the situation. When I returned home after resigning, Emma insisted that I leave Berlin at once. She had gotten visas for Switzerland in advance and had packed my suitcase. She herself would stay in Berlin for a few weeks, have our furniture and books stored and later moved, settle accounts with the publishers, withdraw money